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221 nest. This section describes the methods of securing the principal raw materials—berries, brush, water, wood, game, fish, fur, and garden produce.

222 Collecting. Berries, moss, spruce brush, spruce gum, and eggs are collected. In summer
221 the tops of the wild onion plant may be pulled for use in soup, and a parsnip-like tuber is sometimes dug. Most berry picking occurs in late summer, but girls may still pick a few high bush cranberries while visiting the rabbit lines in early winter. When women and
[431] girls return to camp with berries, they may offer a share to women who did not participate in the picking. Men will often stop while traveling to pick from an abundant supply of blueberries or low bush cranberries.

Moss is pulled from the ground and piled in a small piece of canvas which is folded together for transportation. In winter the woman scrapes away the snow with her hands or snowshoes and uses an ax to chop out a frozen area of moss. After the moss is dried out it is used to pad children's diaper cloths. When used to chink log cabins, moss is not dried. Spruce brush for use as a camp floor is cut by the women. A number of small trees may be dragged into camp and then trimmed. More rarely, a little brush is obtained by cutting away the lower branches of a standing tree. Spruce gum is peeled off a red spruce tree in
● [264] the course of traveling and chewed immediately. In June or July a hunter occasionally finds the eggs of spruce hens or willow grouse. The eggs are gently shaken or tapped to ascertain if there is a young bird inside; should this be the case, they are said to be returned to the nest.

312 Water is obtained from rivers, streams, and lakes in one or two quart covered cooking vessels by the women. In winter the ice of the river is chopped through and this must be done several times a day or else the hole will soon freeze over again. Snow may be melted to secure water. Stagnant marsh water is avoided whenever a better source of running water is not too far distant.

313 Collecting wood for fuel is time consuming in the winter season. An open camp fire in
[462] summer or fall imposes relatively little effort as far as fuel gathering is concerned. Most families wait till twilight to gather a large enough supply of poles to keep the fire going until bedtime. In winter, gathering fuel for an open fire is more laborious, since enough wood has to be collected to provide heat till morning. Except for rotten spruce wood used in smoking hides, it is ideally the man's task to bring wood into camp. In practice, however, women and girls assist. Keeping a stove going in winter requires so much fuel that it is not possible to rely on the supply of dead wood lying around a settlement. Therefore, in order to insure an adequate winter wood supply for a settlement, sufficient trees must be dried two or more years in advance. Two methods are used for drying trees, burning and girdling. In the former procedure, small tracts of timber are fired when the wind is right. The fire kills the trees and in a year or so the wood is dry enough for fuel. More often red spruce trees, from six to twenty inches in diameter, are girdled. This process will dry a tree in about two years. Jackpine is sometimes dried by felling a number of trees, cleaning off the limbs, and then stacking the poles upright against a clump of willows to dry. In about three years this wood will be thoroughly dry, although half-dry jackpine is used in open fires and green jackpine is burned in heaters. A sufficient amount of wood is rarely cut to last more than a short time. Each spring there is usually a severe shortage of wood, and any deadwood lying around the settlement, including discarded artifacts, is utilized for heat.

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although this is also done. When a boat is to be pushed, manilla line or a pair of spruce saplings are used to fasten the vessels together. If poles are used, one end of each pole is bent to fit into the gunwales of each boat where the ends are lashed. This device is said to prevent the boats from breaking if they drop down a shelf of swift water. If two boats are used in conjunction, dogs generally ride in the forward craft and passengers with goods behind.

Once, in rainy weather, Louis Man erected a mosquito tent in his boat. The tent was placed over a pair of bent spruce saplings anchored in the gunwales and forming an arc. The front and rear ties of the shelter were attached to the gunwales. Under this shelter rode Louis' wife, infant son, and Irene Wiley with her baby. Louis and his fourteen year old daughter, Eleanor, alternated running the outboard. The ethnographer met the party as he and Nitla were fishing downriver in a plywood canoe. Louis signalled to Nitla and the two vessels were lashed together side by side with only a slight reduction of speed on Louis' part. The journey was then resumed with all the passengers in the larger vessel.

In fall, boats are removed from water and stored high on the shore in order to prevent the spring break-up from smashing them.

Routine of travel. In contrast to the leisurely life of the Indians in camp, considerably more determination marks travel behavior once a journey has been undertaken. An effort is made to begin long journeys by getting a start early in the day, in winter sometimes an hour or two before sunrise. The demolition of the camp and the packing of the household equipment is undertaken by women while men transport the goods to boat or toboggan. When the tent has been taken down, the poles which supported the structure are left standing. This, however, is scarcely for the convenience of the next comer as only rarely will one family camp in another's campsite. Farewells, beyond a casual good-bye, are rarely taken, even when a family expects to be gone for a long period.

On walking trips, rest stops are frequently initiated by the leader of the party, but these stops are of only brief duration, particularly in winter. Smoking is a common feature of such rests. People try to cover at least half the distance of a day's journey before pausing for lunch. Lunch stops are marked by a fire and the preparation of tea; they seldom last more than forty-five minutes.

In the course of winter travel, fire is always made as soon as any member of a party complains of serious chilling. If gloved hands perspire in the course of a journey, they are exposed to the cold until chilled and then regloved; this prevents the mittens from becoming damp with perspiration and freezing. Should the fingers become cold in walking they are held lightly clenched within the mittens and the arms swung. Against the dampness absorbed from falling snow, there is no protection while traveling. When camp is reached, however, clothes are thoroughly dried or changed for fresh garments. The blanched faces of some people returning to the trading post in spring indicate that individuals are often careless or unaware of the danger of frostbite. No chances are taken with wet moccasins, however, and footwear is promptly dried or changed should it become wet.

Camp is generally made shortly before dark. If women accompany the party, they now take over the task of cutting poles and laying brush while men transport the necessary things from the craft or vehicle and perhaps start a fire. Unneeded supplies are left in the

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inadequate. A generously estimated intake of 1850 calories a day is insufficient for work which requires from 2500 to 3000 calories for both sexes. Vitamin C is almost completely lacking; the amount of vitamin D received in the diet is low and can hardly be supplemented by the weak winter sunlight. Such minerals as calcium, iron, and copper are also poorly represented. So long as a mixed diet can be maintained, a proper balance of carbohydrates and proteins is assured, but in winter, personal experience revealed the intake of fats to be too low. As a result, considerable sugar is craved and eaten. In summer the diet is more nutritional and the only deficiency seems to be in vitamin D, but this can then be supplemented by sunlight. It may also be pointed out that the early months of living in the bush are associated with a somewhat better balanced diet than the later months, when most of the luxury items have been exhausted.

Moose and caribou meat are the principal preserved foods. A few fish are sometimes dried in the fall but seldom last more than a few weeks. Berries may be preserved by boiling and storing in unsealed glass jars, but they do not last until winter. A few families were reported to mash up dried low bush cranberries with bear grease in the fall for winter consumption.

In summer and early fall, when fresh meat is in danger of rapid spoilage, it is preserved by drying. The meat is boned and cut into a single slice, about a half-inch thick and from eighteen to thirty inches long. These slices are hung over a pole, which is supported between two forked sticks, and exposed to the sun. Underneath the meat a small smudge fire is built to keep away the flies. The meat dries in a day or two and is then removed to the house or cache, where it may be hung or stored in empty flour sacks until eaten. A few rabbits are sometimes also dried in this way, the skin and viscera being removed and the animal hung up by the hind legs until dry. In later fall, when flies have disappeared, larger pieces of meat are hung outside the cabin without a fire and left to dry or freeze. If game is killed in winter, only sufficient meat for a few days is brought into camp, the rest of the animal being left in the bush or a platform cache. People return to such a "meat place" when more meat is needed. Food preservation is the work of women.

In order of frequency, meat is prepared by boiling, frying, and broiling. Staples, such as dry fruit, potatoes, rice, and oatmeal, as well as the fins and heads of trout, are always boiled. The water is not poured off these foods but eaten. In camps as well as in the winter settlements where there are stoves, meat and fish are both fried or boiled. Porcupine is generally roasted but is also boiled. When porcupine has been cleaned of hair and gutted, with the kidneys left in place, it is split lengthwise on either side of the backbone. The quarters are used off and the backbone is cut into three sections. The meat is skinned after it has cooked or roasted. Moose tongue, rabbit and beaver meat are also usually boiled.[11] The heads of the moose, caribou, and porcupine are always roasted before an open fire and are regarded as delicacies. Moose bones are split and the marrow used in the preparation of soup. At a moose kill young people often throw the lower leg bones into a fire to cook the marrow, which is then scraped out of the split bone and eaten. When broiling meat, a portion of the kidney or colon fat is often simultaneously roasted and portions of meat and

[11] The same information has been reported for the Mackenzie River Indians. Phillips, Unpublished Manuscript (1944).

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252 fat eaten successively. Some people smear cold lard on lean fried meat in order to improve
● [264] the flavor. The large colon of the moose is cut open, scraped, washed, and then fried in lard. If lynx is eaten, it is generally boiled with a change of water. Berries are eaten raw and also cooked with sugar. Eggs are both fried and boiled.

Flour is generally prepared in the form of bannock, which is also known as baking powder bread, less often as yeast bread. In making bannock two tablespoonfuls of baking powder are added to two cups of flour with a half teaspoonful of salt (hunters usually carry flour already mixed with these ingredients for making bannock). Two tablespoonfuls of sugar are optional for the dough, as is a teaspoonful of cinnamon. One cup of water is added to the dry ingredients, and the mixture stirred with a spoon. The dough is then formed into a single round loaf, which is usually scored, or into individual round rolls, about two inches in diameter, and placed in a frying pan to fry in deep fat until brown on both sides. After both sides have browned, the bread is revolved on the edges until these are brown. Sometimes bannock is baked in a moderate amount of fat in a moderately hot oven, the loaf being basted with melted shortening before closing the oven. At an open fire bannock may be either fried or baked. In baking, the frying pan is set at an angle in front of a hot fire so that the heat is reflected on the dough, which has been spread with melted shortening. An even browning is assured by revolving the loaf as one part browns. Not until baking powder has been exhausted do people trouble to make yeast bread. The bread is baked in an oven or, if a stove lacks a baking compartment, in a straight kettle set on top of the stove and surrounded with hot rocks.

262 Special foods are not prepared for children. During the day they may ask for bannock
252 and spread it with sugar, cooked berries or, when available, jam or butter. In summer a favorite with children is "ice cream," which they prepare from soap berries placed in a bowl and mashed with a wet spoon. Three parts of sugar are added to one part of berries and the mixture beaten until a thick froth appears. Children up to adolescence are also fond of fixing a mixture of dry milk and sugar added to a little water; the thick cream that results is eaten with a spoon. In winter "ice cream" is sometimes said to be made of powdered milk mixed with snow and sugar.

264 Throughout the year people eat three main meals a day, one upon arising, another toward the middle of the day, and one in the evening. If the family expects the return of one of its members late at night, tea and other food is often kept warm awaiting the person. In a cabin, meals are eaten from a table; in tents, food is eaten on the ground. Old Man
[516] reported that his present wife had to learn to eat from a table. For a long time she refused to do this but ate alone on the floor of the cabin while her husband and his children ate from
[294] the table. She still does all her sewing and other work on the floor, setting her sewing machine on an overturned box. A family always eats as a unit. Only on meat packing expeditions was sexual division of eating observed, the men and boys cooking their own food at their own fire, and women at another. Unless they are ill, people eat heartily rather than sparingly but without hurry or noise. The upper part of the body may be slightly bent
[261] toward the plate, but a person does not eat hunched over his food. Meals are accompanied by conversation and care is always taken not to waste food. Only inedible scraps are fed to dogs.

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Dishes are generally washed as soon as a meal is completed. Hot or boiling water, with or without soap, is used for dishwashing and a wet cloth used to remove grease and food particles. In traveling, dishes are washed less carefully, often being merely rinsed with hot water and allowed to dry. Washing dishes is women's work unless men are eating alone.

Beverages.[13] In the last twenty or twenty-five years the Kaska have learned the process of fermentation from white men and today frequently prepare their own wine and beer. The principal alcoholic beverages consumed by the people are malt beer, fruit wines (both of which are domestically manufactured), whiskey, and rum. The two latter beverages are surreptitiously obtained from white men. Also consumed are such alcoholic products as lemon extract, hair tonic, after shave lotion, and stomach tonic.

Malt beer is the beverage most commonly manufactured by the Indians. One can of malt, which is obtainable from local traders, with five pounds of sugar and one or two yeast cakes added to warm water produce about five gallons of beer. Sometimes a handful or two of fruit, such as raisins, oranges, or berries, is added at the time of setting the malt beer in the hope that fermentation of these will increase the alcoholic content. Fruit wines are made from raisins, prunes, dried peaches, or dried apples; rice may be added. To make five gallons of wine requires a total of ten pounds of fruit or grain, five pounds of sugar, and one or two yeast cakes. A five gallon barrel is filled close to the top with water and the mixture allowed to ferment. In summer, wines are prepared from soap berries. Any brew containing these berries, may be referred to as "bear drink" or "bear medicine."

Beer or wine is set in either a wooden barrel or in large aluminum and enamelware cooking pots. In Lower Post, brews are almost always set in the bush, away from the camp or house, in order to prevent detection by police and missionaries. When this is done, there is danger that the cold nights of autumn may interfere with the fermentation process. To prevent this, hot rocks are sometimes placed alongside the barrel, or the vessel is covered with a tarp and partially buried in the ground surrounded by hot rocks and ashes. Indians estimated that a malt beer is completely fermented in three days, while a fruit wine requires about five days to reach full alcoholic potency. Nevertheless native wines are rarely allowed to set longer than three days and beer is sometimes consumed after it has been working only twenty-four hours. The alcohol in malt beer, when given a chance to approach complete fermentation, rarely exceeds five per cent. Wines may contain up to about ten per cent of alcohol. No rigid division of labor is apparent in setting brews, women and men both preparing the beverages. In Lower Post, people rarely make more than five gallons of beer or wine at a time. At home, if visitors are present to participate in the drinking, ten or more gallons may be prepared.

The principal nonalcoholic beverages consumed are tea, coffee, and milk. Tea with sugar but without milk is the favorite daily drink of most people, strong tea being said to make a man feel strong. The beverage is brewed until quite dark and is then heavily sweetened. A house or camp generally has a ready pot of tea standing near the fire, and people drink some several times a day. Tea made with water obtained from snow is praised for its finer taste. Most families drink coffee at least once a day, generally for breakfast. It is made weak and is always taken with milk and sugar. Children alone drink milk. Evaporated milk diluted

[13] See also, Honigmann and Honigmann, *Drinking in an Indian-White Community* (1945).

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*181 is primarily determined by practical and immediate considerations—their value to ego's self-sufficiency or their threat to his efficient functioning.

157 The strongly developed practical interest in adaptation leads the Indian to neglect
517 beauty and to be unresponsive to perfectionism as an end in itself—that is, above and be-
*181 yond the degree required for utility. Embroidery on moccasins, mittens, and gloves is reduced to a minimum or often lacking. Only one or two women enjoy a reputation for fancy sewing, although many more are acknowledged as skillful, practical dressmakers. Oars are particularly crude and unfinished. Experiments made to deduce the emotional aspects of cultural products in connection with clothing and housing consistently revealed qualities of simplicity and nonperfection. Mittens, moccasins, and children's underwear, without being fitted to the wearer's dimensions, are cut with a general impression of size, allowing a little extra so that the final product is always somewhat larger than necessary. The style is baggy, the garment only crudely shaped to the body. Analysis of several log cabins reveals a striking lack of perfectionism. In one cabin some roof poles are partly hewed while many are not hewed at all. Where the logs join at the corners they are often not all sawed off to
[353] equal length. Another cabin is only half floored. The interiors of most houses are not painted or otherwise finished. Such housing style permits the inference that the people's primary concern is with utility, adequacy of a structure being defined primarily in terms of the building's use for the obvious function of weather protection. Thus we find walls lined with
[342] cardboard to keep out drafts, and moss chinking far more prevalent than the more finished-looking chinking with pole cleats which many white men use. It may be pointed out, however, that the increasing use of mill sawed lumber, which is easier to manipulate than logs, is resulting in larger and, in some cases, more finished looking cabins. While the neglect of nonfunctional artistic production may be partly determined by the fact that Kaska society has not been able to develop leisure time patterns of self-expression, any total picture of this neglect must also take into consideration the dominant motivation toward utility. It is consistent with configurational thinking that such personality values should be developed in members of a society forced to live under rigorous environmental conditions, where energy has to be largely confined to adaptation.

*181 Attitudes condemning waste may be partly ascribed to utilitarian considerations. Food
157 leftovers, instead of being discarded or fed to dogs, are preserved for future meals. At the
● [261] first potlatch, food remains returned by the servers were scraped from dishes and, after being mixed with the contents of the cooking pots, were served again. Similar economy is revealed toward the possessions of the dead. Destruction of death goods is minimal; only worn or soiled clothes are burned. Valuable goods (like a sleeping robe) are freed from contagion by washing or by allowing a period of time to dissolve the association between object and deceased owner.

Social sanctions supporting utilitarian resourcefulness are not lacking. Both the ideal man and woman are skillful. Young men are quietly proud of their technological achievements and older men of their special technical abilities. A skillful individual is selected for favorable comment and is also favored by a prospective parent-in-law, while an unskillful youth has his behavior deplored. More important than the social recognition of these attributes is the fact that practical skills and ingenuity greatly lighten the individual's adaptive problems, guarantee him comfort, and contribute to survival.

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Upper Liard

251 Autumn meant the time when caribou, moose, gopher, ground hog, and other meat, as well as fish, would be prepared for preservation. The meat of the larger animals, cut into long, thin slices, was dehydrated by hanging it in the sun over a slow fire. People avoided smoking the meat lest it acquire a bitter flavor. Sheep to be dried were gutted and boned, the carcass then being sewn together. After gutting a gopher, a person placed a stick reaching from the head to the hind quarter in the body cavity and allowed the carcass to dry in the sun. A light pounding softened dehydrated meat before it was stored in a skin bag. From dried meat came pemmican, the flesh being heavily pounded and mixed with fresh berries on a sheet of babiche. After adding melted grease the product was stored in untanned groundhog skins or in a casing of cleaned intestines. Berries could also be prepared by first boiling them and then drying the pulp on sheets of bark. After one layer of berries had dried another was added on top. Eventually an entire dry cake could be rolled up for caching. The Kaska stored food in several kinds of caches. In winter, when simple freezing proved sufficient for preservation, they placed feshly butchered meat surrounded with spruce brush in a snow pit and covered it with snow. In the mountains a cairn made by piling up rocks covered a supply of meat. A wolverine, the informant remarked, never got at food preserved in this manner. Small quantities of meat could also be suspended from a pole lashed to a tree or leaned into a fork. A pile of stones anchored the base of the pole cache. Men constructed stages up to eight feet square in trees, using poles that they lashed together with willow-bark line. The food stored on these platforms was covered with brush weighted down by poles. Men found it easier to build triangular stages set between three conveniently growing small trees. The foundation of the platform consisted of three poles lashed to the supporting trunks. Across this the builder laid a flooring of thinner poles. Four-pole shelter and four-pole platform caches could not be recalled.

415 264 Women served food on fresh poplar or birch bark as well as in birch and solid wood dishes. A hole drilled in such a wooden vessel served as a handle. People avoided using one another's dishes for fear that doing so might lead to a small otter emerging from the careless person's mouth. Utensils consisted of bone knives and sheep-horn or wooden spoons. Etiquette prescribed that a knife must never be tossed to another person blade first. Deliberately violating this rule constituted a hostile gesture. Each member of the 264 family helped himself from the cooking pot but children shared the dishes of their parents without fear of any danger. At the end of a meal a person might wipe his fingers along the sides and bottom of the vessel to obtain even the residual film of grease. Both sexes and children ate together, mealtimes providing periods of animated conversation. In addition to the magical avoidances that governed eating[14] there existed the awareness that following a period of near starvation eating must be resumed gradually. Hospi- [574] tality existed as an established virtue. A stock phrase used in gratitude for a meal was: "Brother-in-law, pretty near you killed me with this party [i.e., feast]." The host in reply would urge his guest to recall the periods of hunger that the latter had been forced to undergo. Food offered to a guest had to be "half-cool" and a serving of piping hot victuals signified an insult. The informant denied the hot-food hospitality test but

[14] See below, p. 109; also see above, p. 38.

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Upper Liard
Dease River

said the custom obtained among the Fort Liard Indians. It would seem as though the "half-cool" food ritual among the Upper Liard Indians constituted a local variation of the hot-food test pattern. Unless meat was scarce, a man entertained without his family always received enough food to bring some home to his wife. Gormandizing was somewhat uncertainly denied, informants stating that a tendency to vomit could be inhibited by spitting on one's knife scabbard.

Dease River Kaska. When the environment signaled the arrival of autumn the Dease River people began their movement into the mountains in search of meat to dry and preserve for winter consumption. With the onset of cold weather several families rejoined around some "low place" to fish and here they spent the bulk of the winter. In summer too the people camped in a large body near a good fishing cite along a lake or river. Previous to assembling, word traveled between the bands designating the meeting place.

The periods of the year are revealed in the following calendar:

cinaa (January)—"pretty near long day moon."
tanawaa (February)—"pretty near middle of the winter moon."
detcinaa (March)—"stick [i.e., timber] moon."
statcoaa (April)—"big eagle flies moon."
tantaa (May)—"long day moon."
tanilaa (June)—"pretty near change to summer moon."
tanicitcoaa (July)—"middle moon."
tanicicitlaa (August)—"year pretty near gone moon."
tcunuetaa (September)—"pretty soon snow coming moon."
nugecaa (October)—"snow comes moon."
tanaaa (November)—"pretty near change winter moon."
makaaa (December)—"pretty near short day moon."

The calendar reveals the interest with which the Indians looked forward to the long daylight of spring and early summer; how autumn warned of winter, snow, and the aging year; and how the shortest day of the year provided a landmark for reckoning time.

Food had to be secured in all seasons. In summer and fall women and girls sought blueberries, low bush cranberries, strawberries, raspberries, salmon berries, soap berries, and currants. With the aid of a digging stick women as well as men dug for wild carrots. People also collected onion greens, rose petals, spruce and birch fibers, willow buds, and spruce gum, but not wild rice or mushrooms. Goose eggs were welcomed in their season. Water, birch sap, and rose petals steeped in water furnished the main beverages.

In summer and winter traps caught wild animals for food. Bear, caribou, moose, and sheep were snared with four- or five-strand braided babiche line. In the case of caribou and moose the trapper extended fences from either side of his snare, such barriers consisting of poles lashed to trees and piled with brush. Deadfalls took bear, marten, beaver and smaller animals. Pitfalls found no place in the technology. Sometimes the Indians drove caribou and mountain sheep into surrounds where they could be shot or where they might trap themselves in snares. Sheep surrounds were built on relatively low

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Dease River
Tselona

to the other, crowned such a structure. Families also utilized simpler platform caches, the food on these being covered with brush or bark held in place with heavy logs.

Women cooked on occasions when the family ate as a unit. Food was served on bark dishes or in wooden bowls. Spoons of sheep or caribou horn facilitated eating. People took meals twice a day, morning and night, both sexes as well as children eating together. An informant denied gormandizing, remarking that the people knew very well when to cease eating.

Tselona. The fat game in the high country attracted the families in autumn. With the onset of winter the bands descended to a fish lake, from which the men went out to fetch meat from caches, hauling back the food on skin toboggans. Often only two families spent the winter together at a fishing site—two brothers and their wives and children or about ten people in all. Summer sent the hunters to set snares for moose and goats. All summer the men "kept on the move," following game. The usual vegetable foods were gathered by women, including blueberries, low bush cranberries, strawberries, raspberries, currants, and soap berries. The latter berries were never mixed with grease because the berries would "smell" the grease and "settle down again, not make soap." In other words, they would not froth as they did when mashed with water.[16] People ate lily bulbs raw as well as cooked. Bark vessels served to catch birch and poplar sap for drinking. Both sexes chewed spruce gum but geophagy remained unpracticed. Spruce, birch, and jackpine fibers, peeled with a knife, were eaten raw, as was wild rhubarb which, however, people took pains to "skin." Wild onions were cooked with meat. The informant denied any use of willow buds and wild rice for food, the latter being unrecognized in this area. Two varieties of muskeg tea were sought by gatherers, the stems and leaves of both types being boiled. The species could be identified only as tas?luse and dimasket.

Our informant confidently stated that moose had always populated the country of the Tselona but denied the presence of elk, wood buffalo, and mountain sheep. Moose were snared and also hunted with the bow, the hunter relying on semicircular tracking to approach within close range of his prey. In season the moose might be called with a dried moose scapula. No custom of removing moccasins while tracking game could be recalled. Sometimes a line of men moving forward in concerted action drove a moose toward a series of snares. Caribou were also caught in snares, and skin decoys further assisted in the hunting of that animal. A hunter who wanted to kill a bear when it was summer, sought to surprise the animal in a berry patch, shooting it first with an arrow and then finishing it off with a lance bearing a caribou-horn point. In winter men obtained bears by shooting them while in a den or by thrusting lances into the lair. Sometimes a smoke fire served to drive the animal out of its winter dwelling. Lances also aided in killing beaver in the spring. A porcupine could easily be clubbed to death but in winter had first to be smoked out of its house. No taboo forbade the clubbing of any animal. Following the introduction of dogs, people employed them to track game. Other

[16] Yet Pike reports the coastal tribes to pound soap berries "till a thick froth, much resembling soap bubbles, gathers. . . . this froth, with a judicious mixture of salmon oil—or, better still, seal oil—they consider one of the things worth living for." Pike, *Through the Subarctic Forest* (1896), 35–36.

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Tsalona
Frances Lake

animals eaten included the muskrat, lynx, rabbit, ground hog, marten, and body louse. Ground hog, the informant pointed out, furnished a far more important source of food in the aboriginal period than did the rabbit. Women preserved a large number of ground hog from the fall for winter consumption. The fox and weasel were trapped for fur alone, while the skunk remained severely left alone. Birds caught for food included the owl, goose, duck, grouse, ptarmigan, swan, crane, and spruce hen. The eagle, crow, hawk, and loon played no role in the diet. Any successful hunter of large game, after butchering his prize, returned to camp and announced his good fortune, thus stimulating men and women to set out to secure a share of the meat. In general, butchering involved first the removal of an animal's skin, severing the limbs, and removing the viscera. The carcass could then be divided further.

Techniques of fishing included spearing with bone-pointed spears (the bone coming from the ankle of a moose), angling with bone points bearing moose-meat bait, and trapping with a fish weir. In winter weirs could be set in fast creeks that never freeze; there were undoubtedly a number of such creeks on the Rocky Mountain slopes in the Tselona country. People did not fish with the aid of torches nor did they employ snares. Fish eaten included the grayling, sucker, ling (loche), whitefish, and trout. Salmon did not extend into this region.

Only when fire could not be provided did the Indians venture to consume raw meat. Hot-stone boiling in bark vessels served as the standard procedure for preparing flesh food. Pit cooking as well as stomach boiling were both denied. Blood went into the preparation of soup as did additional rendered grease. Although occasionally fixed by boiling, foetal animals were generally broiled, always in their entirety without the viscera being removed. A hunter did not neglect the opportunity to drink raw milk when he had slain an animal with full mammary glands.

As elsewhere in the northern forest the group recognized late September and October as a period suitable for meat drying. Now smudge fires could be neglecting without risking the danger of blow flies spoiling the food. For preservation women cut the meat of large game animals into long thin slices but ground hogs, minus the viscera, were dried in their entirety. Berries dried as they lay spread on a flat surface and, like other dehydrated foods, might be freshened again by soaking them in water. Skin bags contained pemmican, made of chopped meat and grease and without berries. The informant denied that viscera had ever been stuffed.

An entire family ate together, taking food from birch bark dishes. (Spruce bark was avoided because it imparted a pitchy taste to the food.) Periods of starvation visited the community not infrequently and sometimes resulted from caches ransacked by grizzly bears or other animal marauders. Only by quickly locating a well-stocked source of fish could famine be avoided. Cannibalism sometimes made an appearance in periods of starvation. The sight of much food promoted the tendency to overeat, especially following a period of limited rations. At such a time friends advised a hungry man to resume eating with caution, first offering him moose blood and pointing out that death might ensue if he ate meat straight off.

Frances Lake Kaska. No data on the food quest were sought from Frances Lake in-